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Mujumdar (G N).

Historical miscellany.

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EDITORIAL.

The Mandala has two series of publications :—(1) Sweeya or 'Home' series, (2) Puraskrit or 'Recommended' series. The publications of the Mandala are almost all of them in Marathi. For the sake of convenience, it was thought desirable to publish papers written in English in a separate book. The present is the first of such publications.

The Editors crave the indulgence of the learned scholars who have so kindly supplied the contributions in this book as also of the members and others for the great delay in its publication. Proofs even were not sent to all the writers. Errata have been added. Any other mistakes brought to our notice will be published in our quarterly.

The Editors take this opportunity of thanking Dr. S. K. Aiyangar of Madras for the troubles taken by him in getting the book out. Thanks are also due to the Manager of the Diocesan Press, Madras. The Editors hope that the book will be favourably received by all the Students of Indian History.

EDITORS.

ERRATA.

Line 18, page 18, *read* 'stage' *for* 'state.'
,, 6 ,, 19, *add* "second stage" before the para–
begins.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF KONKAN

BY

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

Professor, Madras University

KONKAN, or as it is sometimes written in Sanskrit Kōnkaṇam, but ordinarily known as Konkaṇa, is the narrow tract of country lying between the Western Ghats, and the sea, on the western seaboard of peninsular India. It is generally spoken of as falling into seven divisions (*Sapta Konkaṇam*), and the names of the seven divisions are given with some slight variation, but on the whole generally uniformly in mediæval times. During the period, however, to which the so-called Sangam literature of Tamil refers as a body, the term 'Konkan' seems to have indicated a far less extensive region of country along the same seaboard. It seems to have been bounded on the south by the territory under the authority of the Chēra rulers for the time being; on the west it was bounded by the sea; on the north it seems to have extended pretty far, but no definite limit is traceable, and on the east by the Ghats. One other noticeable feature of the geography of the Dakhan during this period is that the rest of the Dakhan was practically covered by the great forest *Dandaka*, referred to in this class of Tamil literature as *Dandāraṇyam*.[1] The highways of approach from the north to the south were either along the west coast or along the east, the great forest region being between. At one time the political outlook of the

[1] குடக்கோ நெடுஞ் சேரலாதற்கு வேள
ளாவிக் கோமான்றெவி மீன்றமகள்
றண்டாரணியத்துக் கோட்பட் டலருடையைத்
தொண்டியுட்டந்து கொடுப்பித்துப் பாப்பார்க்குத்.

Padiṟṟuppattu, vi. *padigam*, l. 3,

Southern rulers seems to have been bounded by the Vindhya Mountains in the north, and the sea all round, although at this period this is varied sometimes by extending that outlook to the Himalayan frontier.

With this geographical introduction, we shall now proceed to consider what exactly can be gleaned from this body of literature in regard to the name 'Konkan', and its early history. Several derivations have been offered for the word generally of a fanciful character, and the latest in the field [1] is the most fanciful of them all. The actual explanation of the term is available to us in this body of Tamil literature. This literature divides the whole of the southern region, that is, the region south of the *Daṇḍaka*, into three kingdoms ruled over by crowned kings, and a number of chieftaincies; while the former number remains constantly three, the latter number varies from time to time from the highest, as far as we know from this class of literature, the number fourteen to as low a number as five. These numbers are by no means exhaustive, and some refer only to the more prominent ones at the time, the time to which the reference is actually made. Rulers in the Tamil land are divided into two classes, kings and chieftains, *Vēndar* and *Vēḷir*, respectively. The former are the three, and are crowned rulers; the latter are rulers of inferior dignity and not regarded as crowned kings in the orthodox sense of the term; but crowns are sometimes ascribed to them, so that the sovereign, suzerain for the time being, is sometimes spoken of as wearing a garland of seven crowns.[2] It is from the three crowns of these three monarchs that the Pallavas of a latter time took their title *Trai-rājya-Pallava* (Pallava ruling over the Chōḷa, Paṇḍya and the Chēra), and the title, Mummuḍi Chōḷa, about both of

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. iii, p. 138.

[2] எழுமுடி கெழீஇயிருங் கௌமரகலத்துப்
பொன்னங்கண்ணிப் பொலஞ்சேர் நன்னன்
சுடர்வீவாகைச் சிறுமுது குடுமி.

Paḍiṟṟuppattu, poem 40.

which there was some misunderstanding and confusion even in a scholar of the eminence of the late Dr. Fleet.[1]

The kings ruled over compact territory in the best and the most settled portions of the land, and conducted their administration in the ordinary fashion of civilized kingdoms. The rest of the land was region not so fertile, nor so settled either, and was therefore described as somewhat inferior in character. It was something of the nature of the non-regulation provinces of British History where it was more the rule of the sword than of the law. This region of the Tamils is described as *Kuṟunilam* meaning small or inferior land, and the chieftains entrusted with these non-regulation districts, to rule by force of military power, were known generally as *Kuṟunila Mannar* or *Vēḷir*, whose designation later on assumed the form of Kuṟumbar. This came to be used exactly in the sense of Áraṭṭa in Sanskrit, and the term '*Araṭṭa*' is used among the Tamils as the exact synonym *Kuṟumbu*,[2] a somewhat depraved application of the term '*Svarāj*'. So '*Araṭṭar*' or '*Kuṟumbar*' or '*Vēḷ-pula-araśar*' all mean the same, namely, petty chieftains who held a sort of military rule over unsettled and comparatively barren districts allotted to their control, with a clear tendency always to throw off the authority of the suzerain power. They would thus correspond to the Pāḷayagars of modern British History.

One of these petty chieftains is known to Tamil literature as Nannan, whom is described there as ruler of *Pūḷi-Nāḍu*,[3] otherwise described as ruler of '*Koṇkānam*, which produces gold'. The formation of the word '*Koṇkānam*'[4] shows its Tamil character. It breaks into two, '*Koḷ*' and '*Kānam*'. '*Koḷ*' means literally, taking forcible possession of that which is not one's own, that is plunder. That this

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer* I, Pt. ii, p. 362n, 6.
ஆதிருமதியெனப்பி யரட்டகையடர்த்து மற்றவ்
வீறுயர் முடியருகு

[2] Araṭṭan means Kuṟumban *Chintamani* 1221. (*Nachchinārkiniyar*).
[3] See note 2 on p. 2.
[4] *Naṟṟinai*, 391, l. 7.
பொன்பூ கொங்கான கள்ள வள்ளுட்பி.

is the way in which the word legitimately breaks up is indicated by the interposition of the (*adjective*) *perum* [1] between the two words in some of these *Sangam* poems, the word interpolated meaning merely 'great'. The whole expression would be the great forest region where it is legitimately open to anybody to take what he can, a sort of no man's land, legitimately open to occupation or appropriation by anybody that can do so. This seems to have comprised the territory of Tulu, that is the country, round Mangalore, and the two Kanaras, north and south. But how far further it extended northwards, we cannot say with certainty.

Chieftains of such territory were many, among whom was a powerful ruler of Konkan. He exercised his autocratic authority with perhaps undue rigour. He is said to have maintained a pleasure garden of his own planted with fruit trees, through which passed a river or a canal, past the garden. A girl who went to the river for a bath picked up a fruit floating down the stream and ate it off then and there. For this offence of the innocent maiden she was ordered to be killed. The parents offered to ransom her by giving him eighty-one elephants, a life size golden statue of the girl and whatever else the chieftain in his mercy might demand. Nannan was inexorable and carried out his doom without relenting, and so he is handed down to posterity as Nannan 'the woman killer' for this act.[2] That the country was fertile in the production of gold is clear not only from this but from the general attribute given to the country itself, namely, that 'its hills bore gold.'[3] There is further evidence in the name given to the *Kaveri* itself in Tamil. The river is called Ponni which means that which

[1] *Puram*, 154 and 155.

[2] மண்ணிய சென்ற வொண்ணுதலரிவை
புனறரு பசுங்காய்தின் றதன்றப்பற
வொன்பதிற் றொன்பது களிற்றொடுவனிறை
பொன்செய்பாவை கொடுப்பவுங் கொள்ளான்
பெண்கொலை புரிந்த னன்னன்போல.

[3] *Paranar* in *Kurunthogai*, 292, ll. 1–6, p. 3, note 3, *supra*.

carried down gold, and the name is said to have been given to her as she brought down golden sands.[1] This gives the lie direct to the statement that gold was unknown in this part of India. Nannan's territory contained the port towns of *Kadambin-peruvāyil*,[2] *Param*,[3] *Pirambu*,[4] and *Viyalūr*.[5] The famous hills of his land were Ēḻil Malai [6] (Sapta-Śaila and Pāḻi).[7] The former is identifiable now, and is eighteen miles north of Cannanore. Near the other hill Pāḻi, the Vaḍuhar, that is, Telugu and Kanarese speaking people, 'who made recent entry into the land' were turned back after a sanguinary fight by the Chōḻa ruler whose name is given as Iḷam Śêṭchenni. Hence he is known to Tamil literature as 'Śêṭchenni, the victor in the war of Pāḻi.'[8] Notwithstanding all this Nannan was a chieftain of literary taste and regard for literature. He had accumulated considerable wealth which he had secured in the citadel of Pāḻi, and gave freely of that wealth to learned men.[9] At the same time he was rigorously valiant in war. On one occasion when a number of chieftains went to war against him, he defeated them in war and shaving off all the hair on the heads of their women-folk, made ropes of them with which to tie the elephants he took from them.

He was at war with his Chēra neighbour described in Tamil literature as *Kaḷam Kāy Kaṇṇi Nārmuḍi Cheral*. The Chēra who had a garland of 'kaḷaṃ kāy' and twisted in his hair a fibre garland of some kind. He sent his general

[1] *Paṭṭinappālai*, l. 7.
[2] *Paḍiṟṟuppaṭṭu*, iv. *padigam*, l. 7.
[3] *Aham*, 152, l. 12.
[4] *Aham*, 356, l. 19.
[5] *Aham*, 97, l. 13.
[6] *Aham*, 152, l. 13; *Narrinai*, 391, l. 8.
[7] *Aham*, 258, l. 1; 152, l. 13.
[8] *Iḍaiyan Sēndan Koṟṟan* in *Aham*, 375, ll. 10–16.

சோழர் பெருமகன்
வினங்குபுகழ் விறற்சுளிளம் பெருஞ்சென்னி
குடிக்கடனுக வீற்குறை வினைமுடிமார்
செம்புறழ் புரிசைப் பாழி ஞாற்
வம்ப வடுகர் பைந்தலை சவட்டிக்
கொன்ற யானைக் கோட்டிற் ரேன்றும்
அஞ்சு வருமரபின் வெஞ்சரம்.

[9] *Aham*, 258, ll. 1–3; 152, ll. 11–12.

Aay Eyinan who was put to death by Nannan's general Mygñili.[1] This Eyinan was so powerful that another chieftain of rank in Madura was actually in hiding for fear of him, and felt relieved when he heard of his death. The Chēra king felt the loss so greatly that he turned all his forces against Nannan and killed him in battle at a place called *Vāhaippaṛandalai* which contained a *Vahai* guard-tree and which Nannan himself worshipped.[2] This chieftain is celebrated in poems by a number of poets of Śangam fame, chief among them being Paraṇar, Pālai-pāḍiya-Perum, Kaḍungô, and Kallâḍan, who are known as Śangam celebrities. Several others could be grouped round them from references that they have made to contemporary rulers.

From this account of the chieftain it becomes clear that the name 'Konkan' is of Tamil origin and was actually ruled over by a family of petty chieftains related to the Chēras in the centuries of the Christian era covered by the literature of the third Śangam.

[1] *Aham*, 142, ll. 7-14 ; 296, ll. 1-6.
[2] *Paḍiṛṛuppattu*, poem 4, *padigam*.

THE MARATHAS IN SOUTHERN INDIA

According to Jesuit Sources

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

[*Read at the Thirteenth Sammelan, Shake 1847.*]

IT is not our purpose to give a full account of the achievements of the Marathas in Southern India. It would be too difficult a task to inclose such a vast argument within the short limits of a paper to be read before the members of this Mandal. Our only aim is to publish several extracts of the Jesuit letters referring to Sivaji, Sambhaji and the former's brother, Vyankoji, who became the founder of the Maratha Dynasty of Tanjore. As you will be able to realize soon, new materials are afforded by the Jesuit writers; several facts narrated by them are not yet recorded in Maratha history. It will be also interesting to know the contemporary opinion of Southern India about the Maratha inroads through that country.

The documents from which our information is derived are all in the private Archives of the Society of Jesus in Europe. They are letters, either in Portuguese or Latin or Italian, from the Missionaries to their Superiors, written annually, about the success of the mission. Now, in the beginning of these letters, of which we have photographs in our possession, there is almost always an account of the political conditions of the territory in which the mission was established. We owe to this circumstance an invaluable amount of reliable information on the history of the south. The writers of these accounts were in many cases eye-witnesses of the events related by them, or at least they had heard these events related by eye-witnesses. Anyhow they were not concerned with forging a poetical account of the events occurred during the year, while writing to their Superiors, to whom the real state of the mission had to be shown.

The Marathas as Invaders of the South

Now, these letters will help us to consider a new side-light in the life of Sivaji. It is quite uncommon to study the great Maratha hero as the invader of a foreign country. The histories of his life represent him marching his army to the Karnatic in order to recover the jahgirs of his father, but do not say anything about the impression caused in that country by the depredations of the enterprising man. The extracts which I am going to translate convey these impressions by their styling Sivaji and other Maratha chiefs as tyrants and thieves. We shall discover such an appreciation in the following extract written in 1731 and describing the whole Maratha race:

'This Kingdom (of Tanjore) is in the possession of a race who came from a long distance. Their country is towards the North-West. They are called Marattes. They do not fulfil their promises, covet other people's money and commit every kind of cruelty. They are fit not precisely for waging war but for nocturnal depredations; hence they prefer mares to horses, as the latter might awake the people by their neighing.'

The picture is a little too dark indeed, and applied to the whole race is thoroughly false. I, who have lived among Marathas since my first arrival in this country and count many of them among my best friends, must affirm that they are most generous and altruistic. Anyhow, the above-quoted words that reflect the general opinion of the inhabitants of the Tamil country about the Maratha invaders are the most precious document for the history of Southern India. It shows how the Marathas were received among the Dravidians.

Vyankoji, Conqueror of Tanjore

No mention of Shahji is made in the Jesuit letters I have examined hitherto. The first Maratha chief's name recorded in them is Shahji's second son Vyankoji, always called by the Jesuits *Ecoji*.

The Jesuit account, in the annual letter of 1674–76, refers to the war waged by the Nayak of Madura against the one

of Tanjore, the result of which was the latter's defeat and death. Only one member of the Nayak family of Tanjore escaped that bloody tragedy. This boy finally made his way to the court of the Sultan of Bijapur, Sikandar Adil Shah. This was an excellent occasion that offered itself to the Sultan of Bijapur for interfering in the affairs of Southern India, and his Government determined on re-installing the Telugu family on the ancient throne of the Chōḷa kingdom. For this purpose, Vyankoji was sent to the south.

'When this was announced to the Mussulman Idalcano (Adil Khan) says the above-mentioned Jesuit account, to whom the Naiche of Madurey is tributary as well as the one of Tanjaor (Tanjore), he sent against the Governor (of Tanjore) a Captain named Ecoji at the head of a considerable army with the command to expel the above-mentioned Governor and then to place over that Kingdom that son of the late Naiche, who was in his court. Ecoji, nevertheless, was defeated and thoroughly routed by the Naiche's son (viz. the brother of the Nayak of Madura) who was defending the fortress. Hence he retreated to a safe place on the frontiers of that kingdom, waiting for a favourable occasion to carry through the attempted enterprise. After waiting thus for two years, he became aware that there were some differences between the two brothers (viz. the Nayak of Madura and his brother Governor of Tanjore): then he gathered his forces and suddenly fell upon Tanjore, which was captured at his first attack. Then he conquered several other places of Madura, while he was defending himself on the other side against the army of that son of the Naiche (of Tanjore) whom he had to enthrone by order of the Idalcano (Adil Khan).

'This victory caused such a panic in the Naique of Madurey that when the enemy appeared before the fortress of Trixirapally (Trichinopoly), where he was stationed, he did not dare to check his advance, and had Ecoji attacked the town, as he had done in Tanjiaor, he would have taken possession of it and with it of the whole Kingdom of Madurey.'

Such is the account of the contemporary Jesuit who wrote the letter, differing quite from the narrative of Mr. Ranade, who unfortunately, does not mention the source of his information. According to the Jesuit letter Vyankoji did not 'establish the refugee Prince on his throne.'[1] But from the time of the conquest of Tanjore he took the throne for himself, and even sent an army against that Prince, who was patronized by the Sultan of Bijapur. These facts occurred between 1674 and 1676, according to the letter. Since this is the same date pointed out by Ranade for the expulsion of the Nayak Prince from Tanjore, I suspect that the cause of the confusion of this and other authors comes from the two years' waiting for an opportunity after the first defeat of Vyankoji.

Discontent against Vyankoji

The same Jesuit letter quoted just now points out two facts showing that the Sovereignty of Vyankoji over Tanjore was not without enemies.

'Anyhow,' says the writer, 'there are many who cannot stand to see Ecoji exalted as King, himself having been a subject shortly before. As a matter of fact rumours are spread that the Nababu, a Mussulman chief, who is the ruler of the Kingdom of the Idalcano (Adil Khan), despatched a large army against him.'

I suppose that the Mussalman chief mentioned in this extract must be the Afghan leader Bahlol Khan, who had seized the protectorship of the young Sultan Sikandar at the end of 1675. But those rumours were not confirmed, it seems, for no mention of any war is made in any of the subsequent letters. Naturally another attack was likewise feared at Tanjore, since they supposed the Nayak of Madura would intend to recuperate the Chōḷa Kingdom. Accordingly the Jesuit letter of the following year 1677, speaks of the rumours about this impending war.

'In the beginning of last year (1676),' says the letter, 'a great war was expected between Ecoji, Captain of the

[1] Ranade '*Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 245.

Mussulmam Idalcano (Adil Khan) and now Lord of the Kingdom of Tanjore, and the Naique of Madurey, who resides with his court in the city of Trixilapalli (Trichinopoly).' Neither were these rumours realized. Vyankoji anyhow had to be ready for any eventuality, and the first threat came from his own brother Sivaji.

Sivaji's Expedition into the Karnatic

There is fortunately a long narrative of this expedition in the letters of 1677 and 1678. I shall divide it into different sections, to each of which I shall add brief comments.

1. *Rumours about the expedition.*—'Then (in the beginning of 1677) news reached us that Sabaji (Sivaji), elder brother of Ecoji, and Captain, though faithless, of the Mughal (Emperor), many of whose territories the former had captured, was coming from the north at the head of a powerful army in order to conquer the Kingdom of Ginja (Jinji). It seemed generally impossible that Sabaji (Sivaji) would come here from his own territory, which is far away more than two months' journey crossing the territories of Idalcano (Adil Khan) and of the King of Golkonda, who are powerful Mussulmans. Nevertheless when they saw him possessed of the main fortress of Ginja (Jinji) they could not doubt any more that what they had foretold as impossible was true. As a matter of fact it was very advantageous to him that the Mussulmans were then divided between themselves, and some other Mussulmans, who were Abyssinians, had joined him.'

In this extract only one reason for this expedition is pointed out, viz. the conquest of the Kingdom of Ginja (Jinji). This was the main object of the expedition, according to Mr. Kincaid: 'Shivaji's design, therefore', says he, 'was to win a new kingdom which would stretch right across Southern India from Bednur to Tanjore. Having won it he would guard its northern frontier from Moghul attack by a line of forts and expand his conquests as far south as possible. He might then defy their endless line

of communications that he might attack them in the field with some prospect of success'.[1]

This seems to be the main design of the expedition, but we are sure it was not the only one. He publicly announced that he was going to the Karnatic to recover his share in Shahji's jahgir from his brother Vyankoji. This was not only a pretext, as Mr. Kincaid seems to suppose, but one of the objects of the enterprise. As a matter of fact we shall see in the same letter that this was one of the petitions made by Sivaji to his brother. Sivaji was in need of money for continuing his wars against the Mughals, as Prof. Jadunath Sarkar pointed out in his life of Sivaji.[2] Perhaps this was the real secret reason both for conquering a kingdom in the south and for demanding his father's jahgir. Those fertile lands might afford plenty of money to him for his patriotic undertaking.

Moreover the opinion which the inhabitants of the South formed about the expedition of Sivaji is noteworthy. When they heard he was coming, it was supposed to be simply impossible. So it would have been, indeed, for an ordinary man, but it was not impossible for that great warrior and consummate statesman, who was the wonder of his age and the idol of his countrymen.

2. *Conquest of Jinji.*—'Sabagi (Sivaji) took possession of the Kingdom of Ginja (Jinji) so easily that no resistance was made to oppose him. The Mussulman Governor of the main fortress was an Abyssinian. He was at once defeated more by gold (bribes) than by iron (arms). Another Mussulman merchant, who was Governor of the territory given to the Nababu by the Idalcano, was ready at the head of two thousand horse to check the advance of Sabaji. But the result showed that he was an abler merchant than warrior. For he did not dare to fight with Sabaji, but fled at the latter's approach and was finally made prisoner together with his son. He succeeded in making his escape and then obtained his son's liberty by a heavy ransom.'

[1] Kincaid-Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, i, p. 253.
[2] Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 322-4.

The Governor of Jinji was then Ambar Khan. I have found nowhere that he had been bribed by Sivaji. The other Mussulman chief the Jesuit writer speaks of was no doubt Sher Khan, who held the important town of Trinomali, and was thoroughly routed with his force of 5,000 horse. His defeat was the cause of Ambar Khan's discouragement.[1]

3. *Sivaji's Fortifications in the Karnatic.*—'After the capture of the Kingdom of Ginja (Jinji) by the tyrant Sabagi, as related in the latest annual letter . . . and after the surrender of the main fortress of Velur (Vellore), the siege of which lasted for a year, Sabagi, as a sagacious and experienced man who knew the great strength of the Mussulmans in India, whom he had banished from this Kingdom and treated with great dishonour and desecrated their mosques—though he was not in fear of them at present—nevertheless started to fortify himself for the future in order to resist the whole of their power. To attain this he strongly fortified the main fort of Ginja (Jinji), though its situation is naturally impregnable. He pulled down great parts of its walls and built them again with new bastions so tactically constructed that it looks a fortress built rather by Europeans than by Indians. Thus he fortified himself in the rest of this kingdom, by destroying some forts which he considered of no use, and by building new ones both in the plains and on the hills and highest mountains against all enemies. Following European methods, he broke up tremendous boulders, built tanks, constructed edifices and all other requirements of warfare. For building all these fortifications he spent a great deal of money, which he acquired more by oppressing his subjects than by justice.'

The fortifications both in the plains and on the hills prove the decision of Sivaji of retaining the conquered territories. The newly acquired kingdom was too good a source of revenue for being abandoned so soon after such a costly expedition.

[1] Kincaid-Parasnis, *o.c.*, pp. 155-6.

4. *Oppression of the Inhabitants of Jinji and Vellore.*—'For he (Sivaji) exacts new taxes from these people who are thus so exhausted that many who cannot bear his exactions any more, leaving their own country, went to live in foreign kingdoms, and others who do not dare to abandon their homes curse his tyrannical rule and clamour for the Mussulmans, whom they themselves had supposed to be the worst. But thus while waiting for the coming of the Mussulmans they lead a miserable life, which may be rightly called hard captivity.

'Thus this Kingdom of Ginja and a great part of that of Velur are in the most miserable state on account of the forts built there by Sabagi. Everywhere fortresses may be seen as well as ruins of great cities. There are fortifications against the Mussulmans everywhere, but the Kingdom is perishing as the result of Sabagi's operations: it seems that his purpose is to kill everybody, so that he alone may rule on the high hills and mountains over which he has consolidated his power.'

We discover in this passage the new policy of Sivaji towards his subjects of the south. They did not belong to his own nation. His policy was to exact from them either by fair or unfair means the money necessary to maintain his resistance against the Mughals in the Maratha country.

5. *Meeting of Sivaji and Vyankoji.*—'Thus Sabagi had no opposition to fear in the Kingdom of Ginja, apart from the territories possessed by his brother Ecogi. Then (Sivaji) simulating a visit to the latter went peacefully through the territory of the Naique of Madurey, till he settled his camp next to the river Collarao (Kolerun), three leagues distant from the city of Tanjaor. Ecogi went there to pay a visit to him, expecting to be received as a brother; his disappointment however was extreme when he realized that Sambagi was moved more by greed of wealth than by fraternal love; for Ecogi was imprisoned (by order of Sivaji) in order to get the treasures of his father which, he said, belonged to him. Notwithstanding, the imprisonment was not so close that Ecogi was not able to make his escape, by swimming across the river, with

much effort and great danger, since the whole valley was in flood. Sabagi on becoming aware of his brother's flight, at once took possession of the latter's territories in Ginja.'

The Jesuit account says clearly that Vyankoji was imprisoned by order of his brother. It is worth while to quote here a passage of Kincaid to realize the difference of both accounts : 'Vyankoji thereupon set out for Trivadi, where Shivaji received him with every honour. He stayed at the King's camp for over two months and the two brothers repeatedly discussed Shivaji's claims on his father's inheritance. Shivaji was willing to compromise the dispute. But Vyankoji, whose understanding was narrow, refused to recede from his position that it was not undivided property governed by Hindu laws of inheritance, but a fief granted to him alone. The King bore his brother's obstinacy with exemplary patience. And when the fall of Vellore required his presence there, he dismissed Vyankoji with the same honours that had greeted his arrival.'[1] Prof. Takakhav's account is perhaps a little more accurate ; after a long narrative in which the two brothers are represented discussing their own rights in Livy's fashion, this author sums up the preceding pages as follows : 'Thus all this time was lost in vain. Nothing would move Venkoji to a peaceful settlement. At this continued obstinacy Shivaji's first impulse was to put him under arrest and take his own share of the inheritance by force. But calmer thoughts prevailed. Shivaji reflected on the impropriety of any form of violence towards one who was his younger brother. It would be a disgrace to his family and to his reputation as a King. He would exhaust first all the arts of conciliation at his command. But Venkoji took flight and fled from Shivaji's camp in the darkness of the night, with only five attendants.'[2] Prof. Takakhav records Vyankoji's flight, but does not admit his imprisonment. Unfortunately, neither Mr. Kincaid nor Prof. Takakhav gives any reference to any authority.

[1] Kincaid-Parasnis, *o. c.*, p. 257.
[2] Takakhav-Keluskar, *The Life of Shivaji Maharaj*, p. 443

Hence we do not know what is the source of their information. We may reasonably reject both accounts, in view of the evidence of our contemporary writer, himself perhaps an eye-witness.

6. *Sivaji's Return to the North.*—'Then he (Sivaji) left the largest part of his army there, and hurried back to the North, where it was said that the Mussulmans were hard pressing a son of his, left by him there at the head of a not less considerable army.'

Both items given here about Sivaji's son, Sambhaji, are quite new, viz. that he had been left in the north commanding a considerable army ; and that he was much vexed by the Mughals.

Vyankoji's War against Sivaji's Army

Not less new is this war, minutely narrated in the Jesuit letter of 1677, after Sivaji's return to the north. We have not seen this war narrated in any author.[1]

'On this occasion (after the return of Sivaji to the North) Ecogi tried to recuperate his territories of Ginja. The Mussulmans he had in his army, who are as a general rule enemies of the Abyssinians and partisans of the Nababu, encouraged him to this undertaking, even more than his own conviction that he was able to defeat the army left there by his brother. In command of this army (of Sivaji) there were an experienced Brahman (Hambirrao Mohite ?) and a step-brother of his, named Santogi (Santaji), the most valiant general ever seen in this country, who has often obtained great victories over the Mussulmans.

'Ecogi marched his army towards the Kingdom of Ginja and entered it with some opposition. Then the General of Sahaji also came forward at the head of his own. The latter numbered nine thousand horse and a few foot-soldiers, they said ; and the former had five or six thousand horse, with a battalion of infantry. The Mussulmans

[1]Kincaid-Parasnis, *o.c.*, pp. 257-8, speaks of a war between Vyankoji and Sivaji, followed by the victory of the latter. If this author refers to the same war, it is evidently misplaced The war started after the retreat of Sivaji.

under Ecoji were desirous of fighting and often challeng[illegible] their enemies to the contest; the latter though mo[illegible] numerous, and under such a good general, yet were afrai[illegible] of the Mussulmans, who besides being valiant soldiers, were decided either to win or to die in the fight; these were specially stimulated to do so by the injuries and outrages committed by Sabagi against their wives and children shortly before: some of them had been barbarously murdered by him in order to obtain money.

'The battle was finally fought. It was the scene of great courage on both sides, and many lost their lives in the action. Ecogi at the head of his cavalry—since all his infantry fled away—had already defeated Sabagi's army and was rallying his scattered soldiers, when he himself fell into an ambush prepared by his enemies. He was thoroughly routed on this occasion, and the partisans of Sabagi obtained the victory: one of the prisoners was Ecogi's general and younger brother. It is said that both armies combined lost from five to six thousand men; the victorious army lost more than the other one, and pursued the Mussulmans who ran towards the river Colharao (Kolerun) and they having crossed the river joined the Naique of Madurey. Both armies invested Tanjore. The general of Sabagi promised the Naique to give him that fortress and Kingdom, on condition that the Naique would hand over to him a great amount of money, which so much he appreciates. He prefers money to fulfilling his promise to any one. Thus Ecogi remains Lord of Tanjore and of several forts in the boundaries of Ginja, while the Naique was thoroughly disappointed. Sabagi's army then retreated to this Kingdom (Jinji).'

War of the Setupati of Ramnad against Vyankoji

The letter of 1678 gives the following information about this war:

'In the fertile Kingdom of Tanjore, of which Ecogi, Sabagi's brother, is the King, there have been several revolutions, which as a general rule are always very fatal for its inhabitants. One of these events was that the

Henarava (the Setupati of Ramnad), potent vassal of the mataique of Madurey, waged war with Ecogi on that side of of his kingdom), which, on account of the thick forest, ancavalry is not allowed to go through. Now, cavalry has always been Ecogi's greatest strength; so, the Marava t' chief, (not being checked by Ecogi's cavalry) entered the ' latter's Kingdom, sacking the cities several times. During one of his entries, he besieged one of the forts, though he retired soon, not daring to fight openly with Ecogi's cavalry.'

We are not informed by this letter what the result of this war was, but the letter of 1683 tells us that 'the chief of Marava had captured part of the Kingdom of Tanjore.'

A Criticism of Vyankoji's Reign

Examining carefully the Jesuit letters of those years we distinguish two different stages in the Government of this Maratha chief.

First State.—Our information is gathered from a letter of 1674-6. It runs as follows :—

'The Kingdom of Tanjore under the new rule of the usurper (Vyankoji) started a period of improvement after so many years of sufferings and oppressions. It is a very fertile country, as is well known, and Ecogi does his best to foster agriculture among his subjects, by improving and cultivating all the lands which were waste and barren on account of the past wars and exactions. Such was the abundance of fruit in the whole of the Kingdom that year that the natives themselves do not remember to have ever had such a crop in the past.'

Vyankoji's right hand during this time seems to have been a Brahman, named Gagana Das Pandit, who perhaps was the cause of the good administration of the Kingdom of Tanjore during the first years of the reign of Vyankoji. This Brahman died in 1678, and the letter of that year gives some hints about his person and rule. It runs as follows :

'That Kingdom (of Tanjore) had a great loss in the

person of Geganadas pandiden.[1] He was a Brahman of excellent qualities for governing. . . . All the natives were very sorry for the demise of this Brahman; but specially Ecogi, who loved him extremely because of his qualities, gave great demonstration of sorrow.'

Just after the death of this great statesman the second stage of Vyankoji's government seems to have been inaugurated. For in the same letter of 1678 we read the following passage:—

'The rule of this chief (Vyankoji) is not as bad as the one of his brother. Nevertheless it is not good as yet, so he cannot be called a good king. Although he is a tyrant and exacts as much as he can from his subjects, yet this is done in such a way that they may live.'

This was just the starting of the new period in the government of Vyankoji. New details are given in the letter of 1679-81. They are to the following effect:—

'The Kingdom of Tanjore continues in the same miserable state on account of the tyranny of Ecogi, who is its ruler. He is a tyrant who does not know loyalty either towards men or towards God. No pagan has been known hitherto so disrespectful to the temples of the so-called gods as this one. The rents, granted by his predecessors for performing sacrifices (*pujas*) and other ceremonies, have been united to the rent of the crown by his order, because of his covetousness of money; this is the idol he worships. The priests of the idols went to him complaining that these had no sacrifices, because the income of rice, which was spent in these ceremonies, had been taken away. It is said that he answered that aromatical flowers are quite enough for the gods, since they do not eat rice. . . . Such is the covetousness of this tyrant, that in order to get money, not even his gods are safe of his spoliations. From this fact we may conclude how tyrannically he is treating his vassals; they are worse than slaves; because slaves are fed by their lords who wished to be served by

[1] This is the Tamil word *Pandidan*, the equivalent of the Marathi Pandit (S.K.).

Hthem ; but Ecogi treats his subjects as slaves and does not r give them the food due as slaves. A poor agriculturer was once complaining to one of the governors of that kingdom saying that of four sons he had he was obliged to sell two in order to pay the taxes to the King ; he (the Governor) replied that he had to be very glad on account of that, because having fewer children, his family was now smaller and easier to support.'

Land Revenue under Vyankoji

The land revenue system referred to in a letter of 1683 shows one of the tyrannical exactions of Vyankoji, as well as his grasping avarice, which seems to have been the chief characteristic of his rule. The extract of this letter is to the following effect :—

' In this Kingdom, as well as in the other Kingdoms of this Empire, all the lands belong to the Crown ; hence all the subjects, excepting merchants and soldiers, are agriculturers. These receive from the King one-fifth of the crop; the other four parts must be paid to the King in money. Now the quantity required by the King is always higher than the cost of the whole crop, so they are obliged to pledge themselves every year in order to pay not only the rents to the Crown, but also other special taxes to Government.'

Sivaji's Demise

The letter of 1679–81 informs us of this sad event for the Maratha cause. It had taken place in the month of April of 1680.

' At the end of 1670 (1680) news came to us that he (Sivaji) was dead. It was true on this occasion, for previously he often deceived other people by spreading news of his death in order to steal and plunder without difficulty in those places in which he was supposed dead. This tyrant finally met his end . . . he who styled himself Firm King chosen by God to rule among the nations.'

A Criticism of Sivaji's Career

In one of the above-quoted extracts the Jesuit writer mentioned the exactions imposed by Sivaji upon his subjects

of the Karnatic in order to get money for fortifying that Kingdom and for his ulterior purposes in the north. Anyhow, the Jesuits acknowledged the great qualities of that extraordinary man.

'Sivaji,' says the letter of 1701, 'from a low origin ascended so high by his valour and military achievements that he conquered three kingdoms, Conqueao (Konkan), Ginja (Jinji)) and Vellur (Vellore), and succeeded in waging war against the Mughal (Emperor). Had he lived longer, his Kingdom would have extended into the Great Mughals.'[1]

The Beginning of Sambhaji's Reign

In the letter of 1679–81 the beginning of Sambhaji's reign is referred to :

'A son of his (Sivaji's) named Sambagi succeeded him both in the kingdom and in the tyranny. This descendant, so they say, is worse than his father, who was supposed to be the greatest thief (sic) in the East. They call him diabolic, and affirm he has a contract with the devil, who suggests him whatever he has to do while governing. Events seem to confirm this opinion. For Sambógi (Sambhaji) imprisoned the Brahman appointed by his father as governor of this country ; and after his imprisonment many murders and thefts were everywhere committed, without judicial investigation of the crimes being made by the officers of Government. Moreover, it is even affirmed that the authorities themselves went shares in the booty of these depredations. Finally a brother-in-law of Sambógi was appointed Governor last year ; then murders and thefts on the roads have not been heard of any more, but injustice is still prevailing everywhere.'

Sambhaji's character and rule as described here is not different from the criticism of the historians.

[1] Another Jesuit, Fr. Lainez, in his *Defensio Indicarum Missionum*, a book printed at Rome, 1707, p. 8, gives another similar criticism of Sivaji : 'Sevaji (sic), qui mediocri loco natus in tantam potestatum virtute bellica excrevit, ut totius Indiæ terror foret.' I saw a copy of this book, which is supposed to be very rare, in the library of the Seminary at Rachol, Goa.

Sambhaji's Tyranny in the South

New details on this subjects are given in the letter of 1683 :

' In the Kingdom of Ginja, Sambagi is the absolute Lord to-day. He is the most cruel tyrant ever known in this poor and miserable Kingdom. Its inhabitants cannot endure his exactions any more ; so, in order to escape the crushing oppression of this tyrant, they flock to foreign countries in exchange for their native soil. For he and his ministers rent the land in the beginning of the year, that is for them the month of July. Then, when the agriculturers after sowing time have pledged themselves to pay the King's dues from the result of the crop, they (the King and Ministers) rent the lands again at one-third higher rate. They are not yet satisfied, for on every hundred patacas paid they demand ten patacas more. Then, if the agriculturer after selling everything he has is unable to pay this amount, he is finally bound to pay under the most cruel tortures. This tyrant never fulfils his promises. Hence, nobody trusts his word, though all must bear with him. . . . The Kingdom of Vellur (Vellore) partly belongs to the same Sambógi and partly to the Mussulman Sovereign of Golkonda : injustice is prevailing here as much as in Ginja.'

Sambhaji's War against Mysore

This war, to which we have seen no reference in any history of the Marathas, is announced the first time in the letter of 1679-81 :

' Mayssûr (viz. the Raja of Mysore) says that he wants to establish a son of the deceased Naique on the throne of Tanjaor, and to install a son of the Naique of Ginja on the throne of this State. Thus he wages war with Ecogi and his nephew Sambógi : as a matter of fact both went over to the Naique of Madurey almost at the same time, with a view to extort money from him, as if from a tributary, for he had been such to the Mussulman (King) Idalcam, from whom his father had captured the Kingdom of Ginja.'

In the letter of the following year 1682 the whole history of this war is narrated. It runs as follows :—

' The Naique of Madurey, after having killed the Mussal-

man Canacan (Rustan Khan) who had tyrannically usurped the reins of Government, found himself shut up within the fortress of Trixirapally (Trichinopoly), surrounded by four armies. Of these the first is of his vassal Maravâ (the Setupati of Ramnad), who had come to his rescue. The second, the one of Mayssûr, who had invested it on two sides. The third that of Sambagi, whose general named Arasumali, his brother-in-law, had been called by the Naique against the King of Mayssûr. . . . The fourth finally was that of Ecogi, uncle of Sambagi, who had come with his nephew with the same purpose. Both are great tyrants, the latter in this Kingdom of Ginja and the former in that of Tanjaor. On this occasion these two, besides the conservation of their own territories, had intended under an apparent friendship to take possession of those of the Naique after driving back the Mayssûr (King). . . .

'Cumarayen (Kumara Aiya), the generalissimo of the Mayssûr army, was an experienced warrior. He was afraid that he was not able with his own army to resist the attack of the three who had come against him. Hence he tried to free himself of Sambagi's army, which was the most powerful, by bribing those whom he could not defeat with the sword. He promised, they say, a great sum of money to the general of Sambagi, urging him to retreat to his territory. But this general, though he seemed inclined to accept the money, yet he was never decided to abandon his post. Besides, knowing that the Mayssûr (General) stood in awe of him, he often offered battle to him with great courage, and even entered his camp some times. Cumarayen informed the King of all these happenings and of the disaster awaiting him in case new reinforcements were not soon sent to his rescue. His demand was vain, for the King did not receive his message in time. It had been retained by the courtiers, who were rivals of Cumarayen. Thus this general was ingloriously defeated on this occasion to the great shame of his King. For Arasumali after carefully examining the strength of the Mayssûr army, joined the army of the Naique and that of Ecogi, and all together so efficiently attacked his enemy

that not even time for retreating was left to him. Nevertheless he (Cumarayen) realized that his only salvation was to attempt a retreat. He determined to do so one day early in the morning. He despatched the main bulk of the cavalry to the van, for he supposed that the enemy would attack these battalions, and during the ensuing fight, he himself with the rest of his army and baggage would be able to escape through a different road. But Arasumali foreseeing his intentions did not attack the cavalry. Now, this detachment did not attack Arasumali's army either, but ran away in full speed and with great disorder. Then Arasumali pursued and slaughtered a great number of them. Then he captured the rest of the army. The best part of the spoil for Arasumali was Cumarayen himself. This was a captain who had always been victorious, having never lost a battle. Then he (Arasumali) started to conquer the territories taken from the Naique by the Mayssûr (Sovereign); in which he met with very little resistance. He promised the Naique to give them back to him, so much so that he paid the expenses of the army and even sent his small army to join Arasumali's.

'The outcome of all this was that Sambagi did not fulfil his promise. For Sambagi retained the territories in question as their conqueror and ruler, and has given the Naique not even one of the fortresses he has conquered. He collects taxes from the vassals, as the real King of these territories, and is continuing his conquests while I am writing this. For the Mysoreans have still several fortresses, of which the main one is that of Madurey.'

Such are the extracts of the Jesuit letters dealing with the reigns of these three Maratha Sovereigns. Very little information has been hitherto published on the Marathas in the south of India. I shall be very glad if the publication of these extracts has pleased the members of this Mandal. May this little contribution of mine to the history of the Maratha people, be received by the scholars of this country, as a testimony of respect and admiration for their heroic ancestors, who made their nation known among the nations of the world.

THE MAHAYOGISVARA AT ELEPHANTA (GHARAPURI)

BY

Y. R. GUPTE, B.A.

[*Read at the Thirteenth Sammelan, Shake 1847.*]

The sculptures in the main cave at Elephanta or Ghārāpuri near Bombay are most remarkable. They are known for the beauty of design, the vigorous expression, their symmetry and proportionate features. One, namely, Ardhanārīśvara or Ardhanārīnatēśvara was described last year. I wish to deal with another on this important occasion. It is the often mistaken one of the *Mahāyōgī*. Who can this *Mahāyōgī* be ? Is it the figure of Buddha or does it represent somebody else ? I intend to elucidate this point.

The sculpture is to the visitor's left as he enters the main cave. The God is seated in *padmāsana* on a throne supported by Nāgarājas or cobras in human form. His locks are hanging over his shoulders while behind him is seen the frill. He wears a girdle with a jewel in front carved in imitation of the latest Gupta style, a necklace of diamonds, a head ornament and crown. The aureole signifies that the figure is superhuman. The sculpture is ten feet and ten inches high. To visitor's right Vishṇu with a mace in his hand is riding on Garuḍa in human form. The latter has a coil of a serpent round his head. Though he is the king of vultures and as such is sure to kill it, he has forgotten his enmity and has formed friendship with it. To the visitor's left is seen Brahman riding on holy geese. Above the canopy are Gandharvas and Apsaras flying and vying with one another in doing homage to the God. From the artistic point of view, the delineation of the clouds and of the plantain tree deserve special mention.

The seated figure is very often mistaken by visitors as one of Buddha. But it must be remembered that it is in a

Śaivaite temple of the Smārta sect. The position of it is so much in unison with one of Buddha that there is no wonder if visitors, not familiar with Hindu mythology, take it for that of the latter. There is small doubt that it is a copy of a figure of Buddha in the same attitude. But in the Hindu mythology there is an interesting episode in Śiva's life which led the artists to imitate a model of a kindred religion. Daksha, Śiva's father-in-law, quite ignored the latter and even his own daughter Sati, Śiva's first wife, for the simple reason that they led poor ascetics' lives. The relations were so far stretched that they were not invited to a sacrifice. Sati took this to heart and in a fit of anger burned herself. Upon this Śiva turned a great ascetic *Mahāyōgī* hereafter called the *Mahāyōgīśvara*. The gods were extremely anxious. They were afraid everything might come to a standstill, Śiva being the sustainer of the world. They decided to wait upon him and to seize a favourable opportunity of requesting him to look to the welfare of mankind. The panel is the representation of this legend.

THE MARRIAGE OF SIVA AND PARVATI AS DEPICTED IN THE MAIN CAVE AT ELEPHANTA

BY

Y. R. GUPTE, B.A.

[*Read at the Thirteenth Sammelan, Shake 1847.*]

A most pleasing scene in Śiva's life, namely, his marriage with Pārvatī is depicted in a panel to the south in the main cave at Elephanta. Pārvatī decorated with her wedding robes and ornaments (necklaces, ear rings, armlets) girdle, etc., and her rich head-dress is a fitting bride. Her hands are broken, but the palm of her right hand has been lately discovered in the debris at Elephanta. *Her position to her husband's right* shows that the scene must be the wedding one. Himālaya, her father (the name Pārvatī is derived from *Parvata*, the mountain, the Himālayas in particular) is leading her forward for the nuptial ceremonies. *Chandra* the Moon behind him—mark the crescent behind him—is carrying the holy *kalaṣa* (vessel) that is customary to be borne on such occasions. Brahman, the Creator himself, is pleased to act as the officiating priest, while Vishṇu, the Preserver, is prepared to give away the bride by pouring water. Above in the firmament are visible the *Gandharvas*, the *Apsaras* and sages rejoicing at the union.

A remarkable fact that is noticed here is Pārvatī's age. She is depicted to be a fully developed maiden of about nineteen years of age. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya in his *Madhyayugīna Bhārata*, Part II, asserts on pages 332 and 333 that child marriage in the ninth and the tenth centuries was not only an admitted fact, but as a rule had to be performed between the age of eight to ten years, according to Parāśara and Vyāsa smritis which in his opinion were composed during the period. On the strength of architectural features, it is almost certain that the main cave at Elephanta was carved in the latter half of the eighth century.

A corroborative evidence was produced by me in 1922 when I discovered an inscription on a *Dvārapala*.[1]

It is highly improbable that child marriage would become an established custom within fifty years or so. One is forced to arrive at the conclusion that the smritis, quoted by Rao Bahadur Vaidya must have been the works of a later age. At any rate, child marriage was almost an unknown event in the higher castes in the latter half of the ninth century and probably in the next too.

[1] *Vide* the pamphlet on the *Caves at Elephanta*, published by the P.W.D. of the Bombay Government, p. 2.

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES: AN INTERESTING ROCK-CUT TEMPLE NEAR POONA

[*Read at the Foundation day Ceremony Meeting*]

BY

Y. R. GUPTE, B.A., KARAD

Rock-cut temples or caves do not possess an external architectural form. Pillars they have. But they vary especially in size in different localities. It is natural that they are rather heavy. They have to bear the weight of the rock. But they cannot tell architectural stories in emphatic terms.

At Badami there are three caves of medium dimensions, but of great interest. No. 3 contains an inscription, dated twelfth year of the reign of Kirtivarman I, in the 500th year after the inauguration of the Śaka (king evidently unwarrantably assuming that the era commenced from the reign of a particular Śaka king) A.D. 578. The other two were excavated a little later. These dates furnish us with data from which important results can be obtained. The principal feature about Cave No. 3 is that the front pillars with bracket ornaments bespeak in the most unmistakable terms of the wooden designs.

The Rāmēśvara group at Ellora is similar to the Badami one, but the style seems to be more developed.

The Daśāvatāra cave-temple at Ellora is evidently Brahmanical. It could not have been appropriated as the *mandaṭ* of the Nandi as a bit of original design. The architect had a structural model in view. The temple may be assigned to about the latter half of the seventh century A.D.

The ribbed-cushion capitals are supposed to be the types of early Indian architecture. From the fifth century onwards we have a regular series and so we can conveniently study the gradual development. The Elephanta Cave temples depict later and the fullest developments. They belong to the eighth century A.D.

To introduce light on three sides, caves were in late stages cut on the spurs of hills and were surrounded by courts. Dhumar Lena and Elephanta excavations will well explain how the desired end was attained. Unlike the structural buildings, in the case of rock-cut examples, the cella stood inside the porch instead of behind it.

The method adopted in the eighth and the ninth centuries was this: A shaft was taken till the architects could get a workable stratum. A pit was dug and a temple with subordinate shrines was excavated. Mr. Ferguson justly remarks that a temple falling in a pit is an anomaly. The Dhamnar caves in Rajputana explain this phase.

Panchalesvara Temple near Poona

A very good instance of an appropriate bit of design in cave architecture is not far off from the hall of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Sāṃśōdhaka Maṇḍala itself. It is a *Śivālaya* known as Pāñchālēśvara temple. It is not much frequented. On examining the interior of it, it will be found that earlier excavations—apparently caves of no architectural merit—have been appropriated. As we have no sufficient basis to stand upon, it is difficult to say whether they were Buddhist or Brahmanical. Buddhist excavations are not found in the vicinity. But at Śēlarvādi seven or eight miles from the site (Bhāmburda) was evidently a Buddhist settlement of a much earlier age. Be that as it may all these original dwellings had to make room for a *pradakshina* path. The pillars in the hall are simple and cannot afford us a good clue as regards the approximate date of the monument. The only attempt at architectural display is on the door-way of the cella. On that strength the temple may be attributed to about the eleventh century A.D. It is doubtful if it ever had a structural *Śikhara*. The Nandi pavilion, though plain, is most interesting. Its design is pleasing. It is nearly circular, the roof being supported by sixteen square pillars, four within and twelve in the circumference. The only defect which is fundamental is that the monument is in a pit,

A BRIEF SURVEY OF PORTUGUESE SOURCES OF MARATHA HISTORY

BY

DR. SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH.D.

[*Read at the Thirteenth Sammelan, Shake 1847.*]

One of the earliest biographies of Shivaji was written in Portuguese. The author, Cosme da Gnarda, styles himself as a citizen of Marmugao near Goa. His work, though composed in 1695, was not published till 1730 and as the editor says the manuscript was discovered by a fortunate accident only. Of the author we know absolutely nothing according to the *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez.* Prof. Pissurlencar informs us,[1] Cosme da Gnarda was not the real name of Shivaji's Portuguese biographer (O nome de Cosme da Gnarda éaffectado) and the late Sr. J. A. Ismael Gracias seriously held that Gnarda, though a genuine Portuguese, did not belong to Portuguese India at all. Gnarda's work seems to have been known to that indefatigable English historian, Robert Orme. Among his manuscripts we find an index of a work called *Vida do celebre Sevagy.*[2] Cosme da Gnarda, whoever he might have been, did not care, like many of his contemporaries for accuracy and he gravely asserted that Shivaji though popularly known as the youngest of Shahaji's twelve sons was really the offspring of an illicit relation between Jijabai and Dom Manoel de Menezes Portuguese gentleman of Virar near Bassein. This naturally reminds us of Clement Dunning's story about the Abyssynian origin of Kanoji Angria. The credulity of that age rendered Gnarda incapable of being over critical but strangely enough even in these days of historical criticism Gnarda's story has

[1] Xivaji Maharaj Com Sangue Portuguez ?

[2] Hill, Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office vol. ii, Pt. I. p. 204.

afforded a source of interminable and bitter controversy. The story was given currency in English by the late Dr. Jerson da Cunha in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and it at once drew an angry retort from Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the *Saraswati Mandir*. Rajwade thoroughly demolished this palpably absurd story so that his article was expected to give the controversy a quietus. But only recently another Luso Indian writer Dr. J. J. Fragoso has come forth to vindicate Gnarda in a small pamphlet entitled *Xivaji Maharaj bencedor de Abdul Can*. He suggests that the word doze in ' doze filhos de Sagy ' was a printing mistake and if we substitute dois (two) for doze (twelve) there need not be any difficulty in accepting Gnarda's story. Prof. P. Pissurlencar has given a crushing reply to Fragoso's contention in his *Xivaji Maharaj Com Sangne Portugues* and this question need not detain us any longer. Full of gross inaccuracies as Gnarda's work is, it is not altogether useless to a student of Maratha history for it supplies valuable information about Shivaji's navy.

Julio Firmino Judice Biker has published in his *Colleccao de Tratados e concertos de pazes que O Estado da India Portugueza fez com os Reis e Senhoses comque Teve relagões nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental* the texts of two treaties concluded between Shivaji and the Portuguese in 1667 and 1670. They throw some light on military and naval exploits of the Maratha hero as well as on his diplomatic activities. An English summary of the more important clauses of these treaties will be found in the present writer's *Report on the Historical Records at Goa*.

The late Dr. Dalgado of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, informed Prof. Sarkar that there are no Portuguese State papers relating to Shivaji at Lisbon.[1] The perusal of Danvers's report also leads one to the same conclusion. None of these scholars make any reference to the Goa records. The courtesy of His Excellency Dr. Jaime de Morais, Late Governor-General of Portuguese India, afforded the present

[1] Sarkar, *Shivaji*, introd., p. 10.

writer an opportunity of going through some unpublished Portuguese records embodied in the *Livos dos Reis Visinhos*. The first volume of *Reis Visinhos* is of unique importance to the students of Shivaji's administrative institutions as we come across here some letters throwing new light on the origin of chauth. An English translation of these letters has been for the first time published in my *Historical Records at Goa* but the Portuguese original is not yet available to the general reader. I am inclined to think that further researches at Goa and Lisbon may be rewarded with adequate results. The Portuguese had for so many centuries to deal with the Marathas both as friends and foes, that many contemporary events must have found place in their letters, reports and despatches.

The Portuguese deliberately refrained from interfering with the ancient rights and privileges enjoyed by the village communities of Goa and the Government often instituted enquiries about the customary rights and perquisites of the village officers. The results of one of such enquiries are available in a foral issued by Affomso Mexia, Veedor da Fazeuda, as early as 1526. The text of this foral is available not only in official publications like *Codigo das Communidades* but also in such popular works as *India Portugueza* by Lopes Menedes. An abstract of this important document was published by R. S. Whiteway in his *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India* and B. H. Baden-Powell dealt with it more minutely in a learned paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1900 under the heading—The villages of Goa in the early sixteenth century. The Portuguese also decided to retain the old taxes and duties levied by their Muhammadan predecessors and as a result many of these old taxes survived in Portuguese India long after they had become obsolete in Maharasntra. A reference to taxes and duties in Portuguese India therefore sometimes enables us to ascertain the real nature and incidents of similar taxes mentioned in old Marathi records. In this respect, Saldanha's *History of Goa*, Moniz's work on ' Daman, Joâò Baptista Amancio Gracias ' *Subsidios para a Historia Economico-Financeira da India*

Portugueza and Phillipe Nerry Xavier's works on village communities are of very great use.

As the average British Indian reader is not sufficiently aware of the importance of the Portuguese sources of Maratha History I may here briefly indicate how much we can learn about the army and navy of Shivaji's successors even from published Portuguese works. Almost all the important records of a political character have been published by Cunha Rivara, Balsemâò, Phillipe Nerry Xavier, Ismael Gracias and others. Most of these published records have found a place in the monumental work of Judice Biker. They afford us an insight not only into the military and naval organization of the Marathas but also in their court life and civil institutions. We get an interesting account of Sambhaji's campaign against Goa in Ismael Gracias's *Vma Donna Portugueza no corte do Grâô Mogol.*[1] In the appendix of the same work we come across a few original letters about the maritime activities of the Angrias. Ismael Gracias has published almost all Portuguese papers relating to the Maratha conquest of Bassein in *O oriente Portuguez* of which he was long the sole editor and principal contributor. No more important and reliable account of the Maratha military system can anywhere be obtained than that supplied by an exceptionally brilliant Viceroy the Marquis of Alorna in the instructions that he left for his successor the Marquis of Tavora. The original Portuguese work was published more than seventy years ago under the able editorship of F. N. Xavier and a few extracts were quoted by Danvers in his *Portuguese in India.* The entire work has however been rendered into English by the present writer and it is now available to every English-knowing reader. The Marquis of Alorna did not confine himself to one military subject alone but his remarks upon the peculiar organization of the Maratha empire and its

[1] A Portuguese account of this campaign translated into English for the India office has been published by Prof. Sarkar in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society.* The word canarin in that paper however has puzzled the learned Professor It stands for, as every student of old Portuguese records know, native sepoys, Dalgado has explained the word in his *Glossano.*

inherent weakness deserve careful consideration. An estimate of the military and naval power of the Marathas is found also in *Instruczões do Dom José I*, the authorship of which is rightly attributed to the celebrated Marquis of Pombal. Pombal had no first-hand knowledge of Maratha affairs but he must have found ample materials for his subject in the reports and correspondence from India. Space does not permit me to deal with this subject in detail here, nor am I in a position to give here a list of the interesting manuscript accounts of naval encounters between the Portuguese and the Marathas, preserved at Lisbon and Evora. Curious readers are referred to the works of Cunha Rivara and Ismael Gracias. It is superfluous to say that the unpublished records of Goa have not all been exhaustively studied and they may be made to throw light where darkness now prevails. The Portuguese Government have appointed a distinguished Indian Scholar, Prof. P. Pissurlencar of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, Curator of their archives at Goa and there is every reason to hope that his contribution to our knowledge of Maratha history will not be less important than that made by his predecessor and teacher J. A. Ismael Gracias.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

BY

JADUNATH SARKAR

[*Translated from the French of Abbe Carre.*]

In the year 1669 Surat was plundered for the second time by the army of Shivaji, one of the greatest warriors that the East has seen since a long time, and who, for his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities, does not badly resemble the great Swedish King Gustadus Adolphus. The history of this Shivaji is contained in some degree in that of Surat and I have not learnt anything in my travels the narrative of which would be more agreeable to our nation, born to war and more accustomed to fight than to trade. The kingdoms of Golkonda, Bijapur and the Deccan made a league among themselves and reciprocally promised their forces against their enemies. Aurangzeb, who had formed the design of conquering these kingdoms,—whose greatness offended his pride and gave him disquietude, made in all his State a great body of men and money, and sent to the Deccan a powerful army, under the command of his uncle Shaistakhan. . . . Shaistakhan set out on his march, and at the report of it the kings of Bijapur and Golkonda took up arms ; but that of Bijapur, either through weakness or through cowardice, after some preparation, showed a desire to make terms with the Moguls, and to be not far from rendering himself tributary. He took that strange resolution, without remembering that it would destroy the league and ruin him by the disunion. Shivaji, the prime minister of the prince (of Bijapur), a man much above his master, was in the Council according to custom, when the king put forward his design, and if he had not spoken as he should, the affair would have been passed by all with one voice. He perceived well that the flattery and the passion to please the king would cause to be approved so

pernicious a resolution ; he saw well at the same time that the jealousy which he inspired turned the sentiments of the assembly to that of the king against his own, and that they did not care if all perished provided that they could oblige him. He represented all that the interest of the State, the glory of the prince, the fidelity which one owed to one's allies, suggested to him as reasons in support of his advice ; the emulation of his rivals gave him a (reason) that rendered him more eloquent than he was accustomed to be. He spoke as a very able man about the forces of his kingdom, its advantageous situation, the funds necessary for war, that the Mogul was not so strongly to be feared, and whatever sentiments others cherished, his own would be to defend himself that he knew not to make his court at the expense of the glory of his master. ' Besides,' said he, ' I do not propose anything which I am not ready to execute at the peril of my life, and I make bold to say that with very few troops, I shall stop Shaistakhan in his passage or drive him out of the kingdom. '

All was useless ; the majority carried it against good sense, and weakness against valour. It was resolved that it was not desirable to send him against the Moghul but that, they ought to make preparations under the control of the ordinary commandants and under the orders of the king. The generals had understood that in one decisive affair Shivaji would be charged with the care of all the war, and that its being drawn to his honour, they would remain in forgetfulness and obscurity. It was this which moved them to combat his advice with such heat. They threw into their discourse traits which touched him personally and which made the king understand that under the pretext of resisting the Mughal he aspired to greater things. Finally, they loved more to expose their country to the shame of slavery than to free her for ever by the hands of another.

Shivaji issued from the Council offended with the contempt they had shown towards reason ; but still more offended with that which they had done to his self. From that moment he did not think of anything except to be

revenged and to place himself above those who believed themselves to be above him. He had nothing more in view than his resentment, without dreaming of the crime which he was about to commit. He employed his tact and his discernment to discover among the persons whom his fortune attached to him, those who would be capable of engaging themselves with him, and who preferred to their duty, hope or friendship,—if we may style as friendship a union which virtue has not formed.

Shivaji having made his choice, and brought into his intrigue a very great number of nobles, removed himself from the Court, on the pretext of his health, and retired to his lands to think there about the means of bursting forth with success.

The retreat of the minister displeased neither the king nor the favourites; they had an equal trouble in bearing the superiority of his genius; they found themselves disembarrassed and paid no attention to the consequences.

Shivaji having assembled those of his own party, took possession of a very strong fort on the frontier of the kingdom close to the Deccan, and gave orders for the passing of troops from that side. All the provinces were in the movement; and as they made great levies, the roads became full of soldiers who were going to their regiments. It contributed extremely to hide the design of revolt and could not distinguish the troops of Shivaji from those of the king.

This lord, who was powerfully rich, among other good qualities, had a liberality which bordered on profusion. He caused to be distributed to the soldiers, by their Captains, large sums of money, for uniting them together better, and attaching them all (to himself). They swore one and all that they would follow absolutely wherever he would lead them. The men, full of wealth and of hope as to the future, had no hesitation in taking the oath. They promised more than he demanded of them, and added that they would serve him even against their own king, a vain promise which could not bind those who had no idea at all of lords and government. He knew how to profit by the effect of

his presents and the good disposition in which he found his army, and he was served by them in an enterprise which would have appeared overbold if success had not justified it. It was to go to attack the General of the Mughal army in his camp, who was entrenched very near Aurangabad, the Capital of the Deccan, to which he had carried the war. Shivaji had a specious pretext in the agreement made between his master and that of the Deccan. The design of diverting the storm by assisting an allied prince made bravery and justice in his enterprise. He did not in effect violate the order of the king of Bijapore ; but on another side he satisfied himself by executing a plan which he had given and he attracted against the territory of Bijapore all the Mughal forces, who would not fail to take vengeance. The prince had no reason at all to doubt that Shivaji was not fighting by the orders of the king his master, and he has not yet been able to be instructed as to the truth, as he was in the end.

Before departing, he left in the fortress a garrison of old-seasoned soldiers and officers, under the authority of a Commandant in whom he recognized courage and fidelity; thus reserving to himself a key to the kingdom of Bijapore and a place of security for himself to retire in need. He marched next towards Aurangabad with only 6,000 men armed lightly and some better troops that he had.

The Mughal General was far removed from his army, in a camp badly fortified and near a seraglio where he passed his time, giving himself up to love and pleasures. The city was blockaded and it (being) in sight of a numerous army he believed, out of harm. None knew the roads of the camp except the eunuchs and slaves, who were the ministers of the general's pleasures. His treasures were no better guarded than his person. He had immense sums of gold and silver, with which to supply the two things which were demanded most, namely, war and pleasure. Shivaji assembled his chief officers and after he had revealed to them the importance, of his enterprise, he informed them of the advantages and that it would be easy for men like them to carry off Shaista Khan with all his riches. He

exaggerated to them the obligation which they were under to the king of Bijapore, their common master, and the recompenses which were sure to follow to them. Because, in the east as among us, able men always know how to colour with the interest of their prince the hardihood of their revolts.

There was, close to the camp of Shaista Khan, a small wood, very specious and very suitable for the deceptions of war. It was there that Shivaji concealed his soldiers during the day, in order to wait for the coolness and obscurity of the night. Shaista Khan was not on his guard, and, although he had posted sentinels, the example of the Commandant had tainted the soldiers and discipline was not at all well observed. It is true that the couriers (spies) reported that they had seen troops about the wood, but they had formed no suspicion (about them) in the belief that it might be the retinue of some great lord of Hindustan, who was going to the court of the Mughal.

Night having come, Shivaji under the shelter of gloom and without noise, conducted his troops up to the middle of the enemy's camp ; the night was very dark, and there was no moon. One can judge what was the disorder, when suddenly the men whom none perceived, rushed sword in hand upon all whom they met. The air soon echoed with the cries of the unfortunate (men) who felt themselves attacked unawares ; and the noise having increased, the alarm of the camp passed into the city, of which the Governor believed that they were attacking the advanced guards and that the enemy was preparing himself for a general assault, and one could not say who were the more troubled, the besieged or the besiegers. They believed that they were betrayed on all sides ; and the horror of the night redoubling still the suspicions.

There was nothing which was not imagined at the moment. Forthwith the son of the general, a young man of good appearance and high hopes, who in the evening (time from supper to bed time) had, to his misfortune, come from the army to receive orders of his father, mounted his horse and put himself in an attitude of resis-

tance. He conducted himself valiantly, and did, with a platoon of men whom he had about himself, all that follows from courage and the spirit of a brave little youth but little accustomed to the hazards of war. His ardour carried him very far and his valour cost him his life. He fell pierced with blows, a pitiful spectacle, and which ought to touch (the hearts of) those very men who caused it. The others, whom the shame of abandoning such a Commander had stopped, did not stay after they had seen his death ; his father who was in the seraglio learnt in an instant of the misfortune of his son and of himself ; and there was nothing except tears and lamentation. The women tore their hairs and lascerated their faces, around a father whom the greatness of his affliction rendered motionless. At last, the more brave ones ran up, and arranging themselves near his person, resolved to perish to the last to prevent his being taken prisoner, and by an obstinate resistance achieved their design.

None yet knew the cause and origin of the tumult, nor whether it was the enemy who had come to pounce upon them, or the army had risen against the general. To know what had happened, they lighted fires in all the camp, but the terror was redoubled, when by the glimmer of the burning torches (lit. stakes) they recognized Shivaji and the subjects of the King of Bijapore. They doubted not that all the soldiers of that king had come near and were going to besiege the city after defeating the army. The general Shaista Khan was wounded in the *melée* by two sword cuts, and the necessity he was under either to conquer or perish made him do acts of unusual bravery. The day approached, and one would have seen clearly if the splendour of the torches had not obscured the glimmer which preceded it. The rumour was spread that the army of Bijapur was on the march, and that they had seen the front ranks. Shivaji gave orders for retreat, in order not to be overwhelmed, as he would infallibly have been, if his enemies had been able to see the small number of his men. The order of war was so well obeyed among his troops that all the fierce men who were set to staying and loading the booty, gave up all as

soon as the command had run and retired with a good countenance, loaded with the booty. They abandoned much more for obeying. The spaciousness of the wood favoured their retreat ; and the consternation which they left behind them gave them time to regain their posts, before it was broad light. They were in safety, and those of the camp did not still believe themselves (to be so).

Shivaji was not content with this success, which would however have contented a less ambitious man than himself; but it was little to his taste to have pillaged the camp and to have made such a great slaughter with so small a number of troops without losing any but a few soldiers ; he had wished to kidnap the Mughal's general : he held that he had done nothing, because he had not been able to do that which he had intended.

The second enterprise of Shivaji was made against Surat, which he caused to be pillaged by his army, in the design to enrich himself, and to accustom those on whom glory had not much force, to follow him at least in the hope of booty. He had not much treasure from that city, so opulent, to sustain the long wars in which his revolt and his valour were about to engage him ; nor did he forget the maxim of the seditious that when one had once raised himself against his legitimate prince, it is for ever.

Surat was without defences which might stop an army ; and certainly the valour (vertu) of its inhabitants did not take the place of ramparts. The merchants of whom it was full, besides their little experience in the act of warfare, being each anxious for the preservation of his own merchandise, were not capable of contributing anything except weakness to the good order of the public affairs which sacrifices sometimes the interests of individuals. Also in Surat, many of the Indians have by the ideas of their moral, approaching in this respect that of Pythagoras, so great a horror of shedding blood, that they would not kill even the vilest animal, far less massacre men, a sentiment which would be very good if all the world had it. See how Shivaji conducted his enterprise.

He did not travel except at night, in order to conceal his march and to avoid the heat. In the day he retired into the hidden places of the wood, which protected him from the heat of the sun. There his soldiers reposed at their ease, and the horses refreshed themselves in the rivers the banks of which gave them abundance of forage, which cost the soldiers neither trouble nor danger. He was master of the plain and was soon at the gates of Surat, which did not dream in the least that it would have to guard itself from a sack. But the misfortune of that city was not distant, and already Shivaji at half a march from the city, had made all his dispositions not for attacking the bastions but for the order of the pillage. After having distributed the quarters he excepted the house of the English, that of the Dutch and that of the Capuchin fathers. The last out of veneration for the good monks, and not to appear to treat with contempt in their persons that which the people respected ; the former because he knew that they were full of good pieces of cannon and where were to be found trained men. Otherwise, it was very easy to be attached to the Europeans who traded in the Indies foreseeing that he might one day have need (of them). The French had not any establishment at Surat.

All being thus disposed, Shivaji advanced up to the gardens which are around the city. The governor was warned ; but he feared so little that they were coming to attack him that he let him enter into the place without any difficulty, because the soldiers in their countenance did not show what the ywere, leading with them beasts of burden and not flourishing their arms. Each (of them) knew where he should go, but they did not observe any order in their march. People took them, as Shaista Khan had done, for the men in the suit of some powerful Indian, of whom there are incessantly in Surat the equipages passing, who to others would have appeared as entire armies.

The soldiers (of Shivaji) had time to take their posts in the places of the city and in the highways, without any of the inhabitants or strangers demanding what they were doing and by whose authority. Shivaji very calmly as in a

city which at all times would recognize his orders commanded at his pleasure, and nobody presented himself to oppose him. Meantime, the trouble quickly spread on all sides. The signal being given, the soldiers commenced the plunder. They attacked roughly whomever they found under their hand, without considering either age or sex. They slew some, the others fled carrying with themselves whatever they could, and delivering to the avarice of the troops what they could not carry off. They then entered the houses, and after plundering them and putting their booty (proie) on their horses and in the carts which they had brought purposely (for this), there were not many cruelties which they did not exercise towards the women and the old men whom feebleness and age had kept in their houses. They wished by this to make them reveal where the rest of their treasures was concealed. The two Governors in despair knew not what to think, and nothing remained for them to attend to except to place in hiding their persons and the most valuable things they had. Self-interest and greed overcame them and carried them against the thoughts of their duty. At last, he of the castle caused all his artillery to play upon the city. They fired at random. If there was danger for the soldiers of Shivaji destruction was certain for the inhabitants of Surat, whose houses were demolished by the cannon, and kindled a fire there, at the same time that the enemy had robbed them of their movables and emptied their stores.

Shivaji was on horsback with a small number of officers, engaged in making the cast and loaded horses pass to the place of rendezvous. The sack lasted three days and three nights, after which Shivaji issued from Surat as easily as he had entered it, having found in only one city all the riches of the East, and made for (his) war the funds which would not be exhausted in a long time. It was as yet nothing more than preparation. The suit responded to it; and Shivaji very soon appeared to the East in a rebel subject a conqueror worthy nevertheless to be compared with the greatest men. Up to now he had commanded his army himself, without the help of any body, but as he wished to

increase it greatly, he created under himself four Lieutenant-Generals, and gave them large sums of money, as much for furnishing them with what would sustain their employment, as for distribution to their companies. He sent to all parts men with money to enlist soldiers. He sent others for observing the bearing of the Mughal and that of the king of Bijapur. When he had set on foot a large army, he did not hasten to undertake the things that he projected. He had in his troops many young men still novices in the business whom he had assembled from all sides. In order to accustom them, he encamped for nearly three months on a level plain, training them to manage horses and to fight, and forming them with care in all the exercises of the military art.

On the other side, the Mughal was irritated by the insult which he believed to have received from the king of Bijapur. He did not distinguish if Shivaji had attacked him of himself or by the order of his master, he entered by force (invaded) into the kingdom ; he took some places, and the advantage in some battles. The troops of the king were very inferior in number and in valour. The king of Golkonda, who came to the succour of his ally with a powerful army, made the Mughal retreat, who did not lose the hope of taking revenge, although he saw himself constrained to defer his vengeance.

Shivaji took this time (opportunity) to occupy many places of Bijapur, and at last made it known to the Mughal that he had not acted except on his own personal motion in the enterprise against the person of Shaista Khan. He entered into the maritime cities, which he found almost all unprovisioned ; and the king (of Bijapur) having withdrawn his troops for making war on the Mughal, the gates which were not capable of holding out long, were opened at once at the noise of his name, which was so great that resistance appeared fruitless, as it would have served for nothing except increasing his glory. He chose the maritime places, because they are more easy to defend and more difficult to attack. Besides the advantage of the posts and the liberty of setting out on sea, he dreamt further that by occupying

in this way the coasts and treating well the Europeans who arrived in the Indies, he could make himself beloved and served (by them) in need.

In effect, along the sea where he was master, no vessel from Europe came to which the Maratha Governors did not send provisions, with all the good officers which they were able to show with care to an allied prince. I passed there in the year 1668 with two vessels of the Company, and we were treated in a way which we had not ever hoped for. It was an effect of his policy ; but it was also an (effect) of the inclination which he had towards the people of Europe; and above all for our nation, whom he esteemed for the reputation which they had everywhere of being the most warlike nation in the world.

He mastered many other cities fortified by nature or by the hand of man, and he made roads in the places which people believed inaccessible. The forces of the king of Bijapur being divided, were less capable of opposing such a conqueror, who had all the virtues of a great general and above all an ease in taking his part, and an extreme activity which almost always decides the affairs of war : hardly had he gained a battle or taken a city at one end of the kingdom, when he was at the other extremity, making havoc everywhere and surprising the important places. To this swiftness he like Julius Cæsar joined a clemency and a goodness which gained for him the hearts of those whom his arms came to terrify. He made some raids into the territory of the Portuguese, from whom he had received some displeasure ; he took from them the island of Bardes, and after desolating the country, constrained them to fear for God. He next retraced his steps, re-entered the Mughal territory, subdued a large country, made it give large contributions, and showed to it that he alone, without the support of Golkonda or of the Deccan, was capable of holding his head up, and that he was still going to inquire up to the heart of his state. If Shivaji had to touch a high point of the military virtues, he was not a man less capable, and he knew more than one way of arriving at his end. He bribed the men of commerce and the spies who in the

different journeys which they were obliged to make, took care to speak of him advantageously, praised his fashion of government and prepared the hearts (of the people) to submit (to him). They did this in a manner which was the surer as it was imperceptible, and they spoke like disinterested men. Next, on the information which they gave him, he followed close to his reputation, and did not allow the ardour which such discourses, purposely made, had excited for him in the hearts, to cool again. By all these means Shivaji has come to such a degree of power that the Great Mughal fears for his state, and prepares himself seriously to make war with him.

Aurangzib has recalled to himself his uncle Shaista Khan and heaped upon him all the honours suited to his rank and his age, to console him for the things that had happened, and for the death of the young prince his son. He gave him, with the government of Bengal and the charge of general of the army, the title of Viceroy in all the country which Mirjumla the famous Persian had held. It was an honourable retreat for Shaista Khan, and an opportunity to put in his place one who had more vigour and more firmness than he, and who was more capable of opposing the progress of Shivaji, of whom the valour, like a torrent breaking its banks, carried all the places which he attacked. He chose Jai Sinha, a powerful noble of his court, who had rendered him great services in the affairs that he had had at the commencement of his reign.

Jai Sinha departed with orders to recover the places which Shivaji had conquered from the Mughal: he had other secret orders not to spare anything to gain Shivaji over and induce him to take charge of a Mughal army. Shivaji marched right before Jai Sinha to give him battle. Jai Sinha declined it and knew how to conduct himself in such a way that it was difficult to force him. Jai Sinha invested a strong fort; and his works being sufficiently advanced, he formed the siege with great intelligence of war.

The defence of the besieged was vigorous, and such that the general of the Mughal, despairing of reducing the place,

liked more to enter into negotiation with Shivaji than to make him obstinate longer. He proposed to him on the part of his master, great honours and considerable establishments, if he would be attached to his service. Shivaji pricked the ear at these proposals, and entered into an understanding which would put him at the head of the Mughal armies and would open so great a career to his valour.

It appeared in this war that he made against the king of Bijapur, that, if he had not sullied his great acts by the shame which is attached to the ruin of one's own country, he would have merited infinite eulogies. The Mughal wished to be served by Shivaji in the war which he prepared to make against the king of Persia. He then invited him to come to his court and in order to make the sojourn more agreeable to him, he made him Raja, which is the highest rank to which the king can raise those whom he wishes to honour. He also gave his son a post which distinguished him, and placed him far above the young lords of his age.

Shivaji appeared at the court of the Mughal with all the pomp and magnificence which corresponded to his rank and to his reputation : but he appeared there so well accustomed to the honours and with an air of nobility which caused him to be regarded as a man greater than his fortune. There was not much good treatment that he received from the prince (Emperor) : he was not regarded equally well by every body. Shaista Khan was absent from the court ; but there were his wife and a great number of men who held to him either by pleasure or by interest : it was so many enemies that Shivaji had made on the day when he undertook to carry off Shaista Khan ; the jealousy attached to a great man set up so many others and irritated them so furiously that they formed a very faction for destroying him. The wife of Shaista Khan, a princess born with much fierceness, believed herself bound in honour to pursue the murderer of her son, who had done to her husband a signal insult and just missed slaying him ; a man besides who had pillaged the richest and most flourishing city of the Mughal. She was so much near the king and sustained against

Shivaji a party so powerful, that it was resolved to arrest him. The king wished to give that satisfaction to the mourner and to the friends of his uncle ; but he had given his word, and in the need he had of himself to open the means of making Shivaji, escape a short time after from his prison.

These arrangements succeeded badly with the king, he pleased nobody in wishing to satisfy all the world. Shivaji did not feel anything except the injury which he had done to him, and the partisans of Shaista Khan took very ill the escape of the prisoner, of which the ease betrayed the king.

Shivaji reached his army, saw well that he ought not to depend on any body for being in repose, and seized the design of making for himself by force of brigandage a legitimate kingdom. He greatly cherished the officers whom he called his brothers and his friends, living familiarly with them, and attending to their needs with all distinction, he did not give anything to himself. He conducted himself with such ability, not affecting anything, and proposing through others the things to which he appeared aloof, and (=but) which he desired at bottom.

When he believed himself to be in a condition to hope for all from the good will of his own, he gave a magnificent feast to his generals : and after making good cheer having been in the wine, named king by some of his assistants, the army replied with acclamations and cries of joy. He was proclaimed king of all the countries which he had conquered : the chief officers and the heads of bands took the oath of fidelity. He had made for himself a kingdom at the expense of the kings of Bijapur, of the Deccan and of the Mughal. Tired of conquering, he wished to assure his conquests by limiting them. The army of the Mughal prepared itself for fighting him ; he had lost money, and partly in the different wars which he had waged and partly at court he had exhausted his treasuries. It was this that made him resolve to pillage Surat a second time. He here followed another manner from what he had done formerly.

He then formed a secret understanding with the Governor : and when he had agreed with him, he sent to demand

haughtily from the city of Surat a sum of ten millions, otherwise he would come there to pillage it. He who gave me this news has been known to me as an officer who cannot be doubted to have been in the service of the Governor at the time when that treachery was hatched. Under that appearance of freedom and that air also of brutality, Shivaji concealed his deception, and believed to turn the Governor in secret from the side of the court. But the traitor was punished, and lost his life, as we shall see in the end. I shall not give the detail of that second enterprise; it will suffice to say that Shivaji having sent to tell the inhabitants the day and the hour when he would enter into Surat, exactly kept his word. He was able to get some twelve thousand men with him; and it is an astonishing thing, how a city so well fortified and full of more than four hundred thousand men made not the least resistance; whether it was that fear had cast down their spirits, or that so many men, so different in nature, and in interests, so little accustomed to arms, rather embarrassed one another than gave help to themselves and to the city. Shivaji wished to plunder at his ease, and he came to Surat to get booty, and not to fight. He was in repose as to the government. He sent an officer of his army to the three European Nations whom he feared most, the French, the English, and the Dutch, and warned them to display their flags on the top of their terraces, as they would be protected by it from the fury of the soldiers.

We had not been established in Surat more than a year; M. Carron, who was at the head of our merchants, showed that at a very advanced age—because he was seventy years old—he preserved courage and resolution. He thanked Shivaji and caused to be said to him a thousand obliging things by the officer who had come to inform him to hold himself on his guard; but he took him to the place where the merchants of France were assembled and made him note the quantity of artillery which were all ready to be fired; and told him clearly that the quarter of the French believed itself to be protected by other means than the grace of Shivaji.

Shivaji was at the gates of the city, and the Governor had ascended into the fort, carrying there counsels worthy of a traitor and capable of making his treachery succeed. It was to throw down a wall which covered the march of Shivaji, and which gave him great advantage in making his troops file (march). It was under the pretext of firing at Shivaji from above the fort, to lay the city open and to assure him the success of the undertaking. They wished to arm all the people, but they wished it very late, the enemy was already in the city. The violence was extreme, and nobody was spared. Our French bore themselves bravely, and had a countenance so assured that they saved their house from pillage. They also ejected from the neighbouring houses the soldiers whom avarice and fury had brought there ; and M. Carron, with the cold blood of the Dutch, passed for a Frenchman, to judge by his bravery.

The treachery of the Governor of Surat having made a noise, the Mughal (Emperor) resolved to destroy him by poison, and in the same manner in which he had caused Jai Sinha, Governor of the Deccan, to perish for the same reason ; infamous path for a prince who has an absolute right of punishing his subjects.

The Mughal has always about his person a great number of Faqirs, who call themselves the friends of God, to make themselves loved by the people ; and who, under the mask of an extraordinary piety, conceal shameful defects. These Faqirs are great poisoners and their art is of such a degree that the effect is difficult to perceive till it becomes irremediable. They avail themselves mostly of perfumes, as a thing which people distrust the least ; and in a letter, a bouquet, a fruit which has odour, they know how to put a poison which kills instantaneously.

It is the customw hen some one has been very successful, either in business or in war, the Mughal thanks him by letter and wishes him happiness. These letters are received with a profound respect and with grand ceremonies : before they are opened they are placed on the head, they are many times carried to the lips to be kissed : however, the joy is not for long, and these letters which are full of a subtle poison,

cause (fort=third person singular indicative of fain) to mix tears with the pleasure of receiving them. The Mughal addressed a letter (Feminine) to the Governor of Surat imprinted with a poison on which the cleverest Faqir had exhausted all his art. The Governor for receiving that honour, had assembled all his friends and the chief Europeans: he fell down stark dead, in kissing the letter according to the custom of the country. Our surgeons who opened the head noted without difficulty the trace of the poison; and the sensible persons made that reflection, that that mode of punishment not going except to the person of the guilty and rendering the conduct of the prince doubtful produced the two great effects of the punishment, viz. the example and the precaution for the future.

II

Shivaji having established for himself a kingdom in the manner I have recounted, had to do not a little in order to sustain himself in the rank to which his valour had raised him. The interest of the neighbouring kings raised up against him powerful enemies and furnished him with new subjects for victory or intrigue; because he was as clever as (expert) in wielding arms, always ready to fight or to negotiate.

The king of Bijapur set himself to make war against him, without being restrained by the ill success of his previous enterprises. It is not known what urged him most, whether hatred or esteem. Rustam-i-Zaman, an ancient favourite of the king of Bijapur and a head-man and a great warrior but selfish and miserly, had retired from the court and passed his life at Donghary, an important place of which he was Governor. This government with the immense wealth was the reward of the great services which he had rendered to the king. This lord did not dream at all of issuing from the repose which old age had begun to demand of him, nor did he seek for anything except a constant leisure which would become honourable to a person like him,—when they came to him to tell him on the part of the king that he had been chosen General of a large army, for opposing the

conquest of Shivaji. He was roused at the name of Shivaji and reanimating all his valour, he was soon in a condition to resist him by open force ; but he was not proof against his tricks, and love of money rendered all his great qualities useless to him.

Shivaji, more for sparing the blood of his new subjects than for any fear that he might have had of Rustam-i-Zaman set artifice at work, being very capable at it when he wished. He had in his army an old officer, a relative of Rustam, who had managed to completion more than one important negotiation. It was him that Shivaji charged with this affair, and after instructing him he sent him to the enemy's camp, which was not very far from his own. He had deliberately allowed the enemy to approach him in order to engage their vanguard in the rocks where the cavalry would have to suffer much lack of fodder, and had by this course got the better of its fidelity.

The intrigue was in good hands : the captain did his duty like an artful man, who was a great master of the art of managing the mind. He carried things to the point and that Rustam and Shivaji had a private meeting in a secret place where they came together. It was there that Shivaji accomplished what his agent had so well begun. He ably made his adversary see that there was an impossibility in the designs of the king of Bijapur, and raised insensibly by this means the difficulties which present themselves to an honest man when the question is that of sacrificing his glory to his interest. Also he promised to him the sum of Rs. thirty-thousand pagodas ; which are gold pieces which may be worth seven to eight francs of our money.

This offer was for Rustam-i-Zaman a powerful reason. He succumbed (to it) and immediately afterwards on various pretexts which are never wanting to traitors, he made his army retreat, extolling it to his prince as a great thing that he had been able to lead the army back safe from destruction where misfortune had engaged it and to have made a good retreat.

This intrigue was raised abroad, in spite of all the precautions that had been taken to keep it secret. The

enemies of Rustam-i-Zaman soon informed the king of Bijapur and they gave him such convincing proofs that he could not doubt them, however much he might have had the inclination not to believe them. Nevertheless, to make an example and to let the generals of the army understand what they owed to their charge and to the state, he caused the head of Rustam-i-Zaman to be cut off, whom he had caused to come to his court as for a conference with him concerning the affairs of the war. However, as the king had greatly loved him, he wished to leave to his family a part of his charges among others the Government of Donguery, which he gave to his son, with less power, however than his father had had.

In 1672 I passed by Donguery, and I received from this young lord all the marks of an extraordinary kindness ; he wished that I should dine with him, and appeared to me to have much spirit and politeness.

Abdul Khan was then commanded to take the place of Rustam-i-Zaman, and had orders to go and find out Shivaji wherever he might be, and attack him. Abdul Khan was the son of one of the greatest lords of the kingdom ; who after having made in the state a greater figure than an individual can make, was passing his old age in his governments, occupied in having beautiful edifices as the monuments of his magnificence, which he carried to an excess. Abdul Khan had all the inclinations of his father for magnificence ; but he joined to it a furious passion for women. Shivaji and he had long divided the favour of the king of Bijapur. Shivaji had been all powerful in the council while the prince had entrusted to Abdul Khan the care of foreign affairs and war.

The revolt of Shivaji having separated them, Abdul Khan obtained permission to retire. He shut himself up in his harem, and had no other thought than to seek out the most beautiful women in the world to fill his seraglio. He had assembled two hundred, who could all dispute among themselves the prize of beauty : but this very beauty which had rendered them the slaves of pleasure of an infamous (man) became the cause of their final misfortune.

In this situation, Abdul Khan weighed in his mind if he should accept the post of Commander-in-Chief which they had come to offer to him. He resolved against his wishes, (to do so) and prepared himself to march against Shivaji, who being always at the head of his troops knew not pleasure.

When Abdul Khan was about to depart, and when he had to quit his women, his jealousy flamed up with such violence that he could not master it any more, and it inspired him with the darkest design of which a man is capable. He shut himself up for eight days in his seraglio, passing all the time in festivity and pleasure. The end was tragic because on the last day, to save all the disquiet which love gives, he caused to be stabbed before him the 200 unfortunate women, who did not expect in the least to receive such a treatment.

After such a fine opening, he departed for the army, breathing of nothing except blood and courage. The report of this barbarity was not long in spreading, and there was none who did not hold him in horror. This was the reason that Shivaji lent his ears to the talk of some among his generals, who advised him to assassinate Abdul Khan, during a pretended interview which he would ask of him at the time when the two armies would be at the point of being engaged. They represented to him that Abdul Khan being loaded with the horror of so black an act, which was that of causing to be killed two hundred women, whom their sex ought to have saved from his fury, if no other consideration protected them, the world would be delighted to see him perish in his turn, and that they would see him fall with joy, without thinking of the hand which would strike him down. They produced many other reasons to 'colour' the crime. Shivaji gave himself up to their discourse ; the more so as he having once by the greatest of all the outrages revolted against his legitimate king, one more assassination ought not to frighten him.

The occasion for executing his project presented itself very soon : the two armies sighted each other, and already the commanders who passed rank after rank commence to

excite the valour of the soldiers by reproaches or by praise. Shivaji sent a herald to propose to Abdul Khan to advance alone in order to confer at the head of his army; as he also would do also on his part: and that, for greater security, he also offered to give up his arms, provided that Abdul Khan too would lay aside his own.

Abdul Khan accepted the offer, and by a signal imprudence advanced alone, without having anything to rely upon except the word of Shivaji. It is true that he had known him at all times as a man of strong probity and he had not yet imagined him capable of breaking what he had promised. Shivaji however, had under his vest a concealed dagger, well resolved to avail himself of it and to finish thereby a war which otherwise would last long and in which success was doubtful.

When they were sufficiently near each other, Shivaji took the word; and as if he did not intend anything except to draw him into his revolt, he spoke to him of their old friendship and told him that it would be a violation of right to fight with one another: then suddenly changing his visage he drew his dagger and drove it into his bosom: he told him 'Take' this is what those deserve who sully their lives with hateful crimes; those who like you violate all the natural laws do not deserve to have any share in the privilege of the right of men.

Shivaji (then) retired towards his own people, who immediately fell with fury on the army of Abdul Khan, totally struck with consternation at the death of their general; he cut to pieces one part, the rest surrendered at discretion. He made the better troops take the oath and augmented his (army) with them.

The body of Abdul Khan, adorned with the richest robes, was by order of Shivaji carried to a neighbouring town where he was regretted by none.

Thus ended the second enterprise of the king of Bijapur, against whom Shivaji prepared still other affairs. I remember that in 1673, in a journey which I made by land from Surat to St. Thomé, I rested at Abdulpur, of which Abdul Khan had been Governor when he was assassinated.

I went to see the palace: I there found, believe, number of work men occupied in cutting the stone with which were to serve as the mausoleum of Abdul Kha[illegible] I was surprised (to see) how in the epitaph they never mentioned the women of the seraglio whom he had caused to be killed.

Shivaji with the reinforcement of troops by which he had augmented his army, did not lose any time, he advanced into the kingdom of Bijapur, and seized many large places which were in the heart of the kingdom and without defence. He established Governors there and disposed of all things at his will using a clemency and a goodness in the newly conquered country, which subjugated to him by inclination those very men whom he had come to conquer by force of arms. He then chose the most beautiful place, most abounding in forage, for making his army encamp and giving it at the same time leisure and comfort to refresh itself.

He passed the time in meditating new projects as great and as glorious as his first ones. He conferred with his generals, in order that at the end they might be more heartened to execute the measures which they had approved. He opened his mind to them, and made them see that his glory called him from the side of Cambay and Gujarat; that the cities of Bijapur which he had subdued would furnish the cost of the war, while he extended his conquests on another side. The indolence of most of the great lords of the Deccan, who lived in their lands like so many petty sovereigns, also made him desire to carry his arms to that side.

For understanding what I am going to say better it is necessary to return to the things (described) a little above. Never had the kingdom of the Deccan greater splendour than towards the year 1500. It was in such grandeur that nothing could raise it further, it could not do anything except to diminish daily and fall finally, as it did. Because the greatest lords and those who filled the important governments in the state, conspired together and agreed that each should render himself independent in his part, throwing off his allegiance by an infamous treason against

the person valour of sovereign. So, the forces of the kingdom bivaji sent nited were least capable of resisting the enterprise in ordivaji against whom up to now nothing had held. uld

He divided his troops for attacking at the same time the different princes, without letting them help one another, each having enough to do to defend his estates. He formed a body of ten thousand of the bravest men and put his son at their head. He was a young prince full of courage and worthy of the reputation of his father. He had accompanied him in the course of his conquests; and under such a good master, he had been formed to the trade of war, and could dispute it with the oldest captains. He was handsome in person and his beauty rendered his valour still more brilliant and loveable. His soldiers had considered him as Shivaji himself and imagined no difference between the father and the son. They loved to fight under him and took pleasure in giving him the honour of all that was done: he also was touched by merit, and an act of bravery which was done in his presence was never a merit lost.

He had orders to attack the kingdom of Cambay and of Gujarat: and seeing that his father had entrusted to him so important an enterprise he conceived a new valour and advanced with his army to signalize his first exploits. The terror of his name had vanquished in advance those whom he came to attack: he found the things very easy for his glory and in less than no time he rendered a very large country tributary. People talked nothing except about the young prince, and his father would have felt jealousy for him if great hearts had been capable of that passion.

Shivaji formed a second army corps under the command of one of his oldest generals, a man who besides the military virtues which he possessed in a supreme degree had good sense and genius for business. The latter was sent into the country close to the Malabar coast, from Chaul up to one day's march from Surat, with orders to attack the many pretty sovereigns who esteemed themselves in

security from the situation of their places, believing themselves beyond attack and not recognizing anybody besides themselves.

In fact, neither the Mughal, nor any other power had up to now had the enterprise to subject them, because of the difficulty of the roads and ignorance of the country entirely covered by forests. I have passed more than once by that country ; and in looking at these princes, whose states are divided by the forest or by the petty rivers, keep as their soldiers none beside strangers or the men assembled in the mountains, it seemed to me that there was a great resemblance between this country and Italy ; just as the latter is now divided into so many states and different princes.

The general who was placed at the head of that expedition, found more resistance than the young prince had found on his side. Besides he had to fight in a country where it was so difficult to conduct troops, that he had to conquer nature before fighting the men. It was not everywhere that fortified castles in the midst of the forests or rocks of measureless hugeness served as their defence ; at each step one found rivers or torrents which arrested men and horses unless the commander had knowledge of the places. He did not lose heart for all these difficulties, and in three campaigns he subdued for Shivaji all the petty kings, who in more than a hundred places of the country recognized nobody except themselves.

The fortune of his master did not desert him in all the campaigns which he fought : but entirely subdued as they were, they ceased to stir and to give much trouble to the general of Shivaji. Three or four of the bravest among them and those who by their riches could better support the cost of the war, were astonished to see themselves subdued with their neighbours in a country which seemed inaccessible and that too by (only) one platoon of the enemy; they then formed the design to fight for their liberty which they were going to loose with so little resistance. They began by concealing what they had preserved for their wealth ; and being allied among themselves, they issued into the field supported by many thousands of men. Their plan

was not to fight but to draw the enemy general into narrow places where they doubted not that they would have the better (of him).

The trick succeeded at first, and the general, a great man of war, said afterwards that he had never yet fought at so much risk. However he made detachments from his army for going by the secluded (?side) paths to attack the enemy cutting the woods down and planning roads ; which was done with such speed and courage that nothing was capable of arresting the course of his conquests. He placed Governors in the conquered places, he there put garrisons, and the army returned victorious to Shivaji to prepare itself for new victories.

The Portuguese gained by the defeat of these kings ; because they having received the latter among themselves after the conquest by Shivaji and having given them a treatment suited to their rank, they were discharged from the payment of a large sum of money which they had agreed to give them every year, for obtaining from them (the undertaking) that they would stop the flight of their subjects, above all at the time when the portuguese made their harvest of all sorts of fruits and gathered the provisions of which the sale made them so rich.

I passed by Daman, a place which belongs to the Portuguese at the time when these things were happening and I was witness of those that I have recounted.

Shivaji who understood that one of the principal succours which the kings whom he went to conquer had for sustaining their state consisted of the contributions of the Portuguese, wished to preserve them to his Governors under the pretext that they would give their attention to stopping the brigandage which the men of the country were accustomed to practise. He then sent an embassy to Daman, and to do honour to his ambassador, he caused him to be accompanied by a large body of cavalry, who marched more in order of battle than as the paraphernalia of a ceremony.

The report quickly ran through Daman that the army of Shivaji was marching against that city ; and this rumour sustained by that of his last conquests carried the confusion

to such a point that the inhabitants knew not what to determine. The council instantly assembled at the house of the Governor : and in the opinion which they had that Shivaji had sent to demand the kings to whom the Portuguese had given an asylum, some gave the advice to surrender them against the faith of treaties made with them ; others, more honourable men, but as little as the former, said that it was necessary to embark them with all their most precious possessions and to take the consequence, thus avoid for ever the power of Shivaji, before whom all the East trembled ; there were those who wished that they should defend themselves fiercely and that at the approach of the troops, they should fill the posts of advanced generals, and that they should show on the fortifications, soldiers who presented to the enemy a firm countenance.

They issued from the council without having resolved anything : thus each one acted as he was of opinion and the port found itself in a moment filled with men who laboured to embark their best effects, others flocked to remove the cannon and pieces of artillery : I attached myself to follow one of the principal officers in order to know better the forces of the Portuguese in that place. All was in extreme disorder : the cannon were found for the most part dismounted or entangled in the bushes out of which many horses could not draw them. The walls were very weak or destroyed in the preceding wars and the inhabitants, unaccustomed to combat, had not with them either powder or lead. They ran in crowds to the castle ; there was not (room) for one-third of those who demanded (entrance), and the disorder grew to such a degree that one perceived the bad condition of the place.

However, the so-called army of Shivaji advanced and already the ambassador with all the escort had stopped at the head of one of the suburbs, demanding that they should open the gates to him. They were very long in doing it, because fear having reunited everybody in the same opinion, they wanted only to fortify themselves on all sides. The ambassador perceived in the refusal which they made to let him enter, that the city at

the report of his coming had taken up arms, and expected to see Shivaji himself in person. He sent a trumpeter into the field, to say to the Commandant that he had not come as an enemy, nor to do any outrage to the Portuguese ; that he had a certain message to convey to the governor on behalf of Shivaji, who wished to live with them in good understanding and that he wished to speak to them.

The governor received the embassy ; and in the fear that he had, he agreed to all that was demanded of him as to the sums which the Portuguese had been accustomed to paying in order to save themselves from the outrages which otherwise their neighbours would not have failed to do them.

That which I am going to say may give an idea of the state in which the Portuguese are in the East at present. One may know it still better by the description of Daman which I am going to make, having taken care to observe all things and having passed there a part of the year 1672.

During the time when the son of Shivaji and his generals looked to extend the boundaries of his kingdom and when all suceeeded with them in the manner I have just narrated, Shivaji on his part was not sleeping, and did not forget at all to make the designs that he had upon the Deccan to succeed. He commenced by taking possession of the unimportant places and threw himself afterwards on the large territories and forts which at the death of Jai Sinha had passed, by consent of Aurangzib, against the usual custom, to the son of that unfortunate (noble). It was for this that he attacked the Deccan, and that expedition did not cost him much, his presence was enough to make the governors restore the places to nim ; they wished to make it a merit to themselves before him to do a thing to which they would have been forced very soon if they had refused it.

It ought to be known that after the death of Jai Sinha, which happened as I have narrated long ago, the Mughal recalled his son to the court, with the pensions and the same honours which his father had enjoyed in his lifetime, because he had designs upon the important places which formerly appertained to the king of the Deccan.

It was not enough for Shivaji to have made such progress, he also knew how to win over to his party two powerful Governors of provinces ; he heaped up presents on them and made an arrangement with them which comprehended an offensive and defensive league for mutual support or attack on those whose very great power inconvenienced them. Shivaji did not go further into the Deccan. And on another side, seeing that his lieutenants had subdued for him all the country which lies from Daman up to the port of Chaul, he took with himself an army crops, and went in person to conquer the rest of the country, that is to say all that which lies from Goa up to Chaul.

It was there that by one stooke, so to say, he took immense riches ; also he rendered himself master of many very beautiful cities which had grown very opulent by trade. He left good garrisons in the new conquests with governors of known valour, who had for the most part fought in his company in all the places where he had carried them.

The Portuguese who saw the fire of the neighbouring cities, commenced to fear for their better places ; it was reported to them every day that Shivaji did not disguise that he had the design to rob them ; and these reports, sustained by the conduct of that conqueror, gave them cruel disquiet. They believed themselves besieged in the places of the Malabar Coast which were the most secure by their position and their garrisons. I remember to have passed by many of these cities, which fear always kept astir.

I passed to Chaul in 1673.

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